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of the Westerners and the Mizwli as groups. The Westerners are transhumants, representing an activity which is of frequent occurrence along the slopes of Mount Lebanon (cf. Thoumin, 1936, pp. 154–55). According to Core Group informants, they, or other Marronites like them, have always come to the village in winter. They live either in vacant houses or in the lower sections of occupied houses. Their presence in the village is primarily in their own interest which is the need for winter pasturage for their sheep and goats. However, the Core Group has everything to gain and nothing to lose by their being in the village. The flocks furnish a convenient extra supply of meat and milk, some of the men hire themselves out for farm labor, they pay rent for their dwellings, and the children attend both of the village schools.

The Mizwli are looked upon with some disapproval. The Mizwli as a group have been in the village since about 1940, and there was no one comparable to them before that in the village. The men are specialists in preparing charcoal for sale, (mostly outside the village) and for this they cut the scrub oak which is fairly abundant in the village territory. They pay a prearranged sum to the owners of the property on which they cut the wood. Evidently this sum is agreed upon with a view to the Core Group members' getting a fair return relative to the profits of the Mizwli, and some bitterness in regard to the way this arrangement worked out was indicated. The women of this group either work in the bakeries or hire themselves out part time as domestic servants or laundresses. The children attend the village schools.

It might be tempting to classify these groups as castes. In terms of such traits as ethnic (religious) division of labor, absence of intermarriage, and occasional suggestions of superiority-inferiority judgments they indeed look something like castes. Most emphatically, however, they are not, at least not in the sense in which the term is applied to the characteristic social groups of India. This opinion is founded upon the following considerations: In the first place, in other Lebanese villages representative groups of the same sects live together in entirely different orders of dominance. There is nothing inherent in the nature of any of the sects which makes one necessarily dominant over another. The crucial factor is simply the relative degrees of numerical superiority and local establishment which obtain in the particular area. In other words, as has been suggested above, Munsif is simply one localized example of the operation of Coon's ethnic division of labor and the present writer's own theory of "spheres." In the second place, as far as was observed, social interaction is in no way colored by group avoidance or any such concept as pollution through social contact. The general tendency in *all* social relationships in the village is equalitarian, combined, to be sure, with the various barriers which are consequences of the system of "spheres."

It should be noted that the village is regularly visited by two types of *itinerants*: (1) Tinkers and scissors grinders, who announce their arrival in the village with special cries of the type which contribute greatly to the bedlam of the streets in the cities. They go from house to house and do whatever jobs they are given on the spot. (2) Various types of people all of whom are classed as beggars and of whom it is said, "They do not work, they have no homes, they are thieves and liars." Some are beggars outright; others seek, perhaps sincerely, to find work as servants. Notable among the true beggars are the Nawasir (Gypsies). One group of them was observed—three women in distinctive costumes, including circular head-dress, their faces tattooed, marching up the road with

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large bundles slung over their shoulders, singing cheerfully. "They do not speak Arabic," said one informant, "and you always see the women only because three women, say, together, are the wives of one man. They beg, and he does nothing."

Also in the beggar class are men with performing bears or donkeys, and, in particular, troupes consisting of a girl of any age between ten and twenty and usually two, somewhat older, men. The girl does a shimmy dance accompanied by the men, one of whom beats a drum, while the other usually plays a long, stringed instrument called *Awoodi*. The villagers call them *Hawwasi* because they all are supposed to come from Hawran, and they regard them as pests to be got rid of as quickly as possible. The beggars are a group which is definitely stigmatized by the villagers.

APPENDIX B: TRANSLITERATION OF ARABIC PHONEMES

A fairly standard system of transliteration has been developed for Classical Arabic, which can be employed without comment. However no Arab uses Classical Arabic in his daily life, and this work is concerned with the events of daily life. It is therefore necessary to employ a set of symbols which is suitable for the needs at hand.

In general, the various Arabic dialects adhere fairly well to classical usage in the long series of obstruent phonemes. What usually occurs is that some are ignored, in phonetically systematic fashion, and there is also a tendency to eliminate, by addition or omission, the asymmetries which occur in Classical Arabic. Those which remain, however, and they are the majority, are generally pronounced in accordance with classical rules. The same can be said, in general, of the three long vowels, cognizance of which is taken in the Arabic alphabet. The chief difficulty is encountered in the three short vowels, ignored in ordinary writing, one of which is regularly clustered with ع and with ء to form two additional phonemes. Dialectical variation in this series is great, frequently involving the complete omission of one or another of the three simple phonemes in question. Moreover, individuals tend to be casual in their pronunciation of them. For example, a Lebanese will say that it is correct to call his country either Libnaan or Lubnaan. He does either, and may even say both in the same sentence. In linguistic terms, it is in the short vowels and related diphthongs that the greatest number of allophones occurs, and where dialectical variations are very apparent.

The system of transliteration used in this work is intended to be reasonably accurate phonetically, to avoid undue grotesqueries, and, withal, to permit the reader to pronounce the words correctly without first having to master a complicated and esoteric system of symbols. In the text, Arabic words are rendered in the Munsifi dialect which is less at variance with the classical than many others. In a few cases, the Classical Arabic form is added in parentheses, using the Arabic alphabet.

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probably few, of the estates are the properties of old, wealthy families of Ottoman times, which still exist in Lebanon, such as the lands belonging to the families of Arslan, Jumblatt, Chehab, Khazen, but many of these have been broken up by the Moslem laws of inheritance. Other estates have originated from direct grants made by Turkish Sultans to influential politicians, as for example the two very large estates in the Beqa and the Litani valley. Others too were formed at the time of the general registration of property undertaken by the Ottoman Government when chiefs of tribes or villages registered tribal land in their names as their private property. Uncertainty about legal title to land gives the educated classes frequent opportunity for ousting peasant owners, and whole villages have come into the possession of rival groups of city notables, as a result of litigation among the villagers who have sought their assistance in establishing their title.

While the land-tenure system is thus a result of peasant poverty, it also perpetuates poverty by standing in the way of any long-term investment. The high percentage of fallow in Syria suggests a great waste of land resources, and there could certainly be some improvement in yields, even in dry land farming, if green crops were introduced more generally into the rotation. But the share-cropper has little incentive to improve the fertility of the land, since he has no certainty of tenure, and since the landlord will take 50 per cent of any increase. Since the landlords are not as a rule directly interested in farming, they do not themselves undertake long-term improvements in the land.

Three case studies illustrate the ways in which the land-tenure system hinders advance.[1]

One study relates to the large estate of Misherfe, near Homs in central Syria. This is 24,000 acres in extent and includes five villages, with 2,500 inhabitants. It is very extensively cultivated, only one-third of the area, 8,000 acres, being cropped each year. The land is divided into three parts, one with wheat, barley or *qatani* (mixed grain), one ploughed but not sown, and one left fallow. A small area, 200 acres only, is irrigated, though water supplies are sufficient to irrigate much larger areas.

[1] These studies, which were prepared for the M.E.S.C., are not at present available in print.

tants and less than 4,000 each of Syrian Catholics, Syrian Orthodox, Chaldean Catholics and other denominations.

In 1948, the Moslem contingent, comprising about 253,000 Sunnites and 234,500 Shiites, represented slightly less than 40 per cent of the population. The Druses, a dissident sect of Islam, dating from the 11th century, numbered around 79,700. They are scattered throughout southern and central Lebanon, but about 80 per cent reside in the province of Mount Lebanon. The diverse religious communities tend to live apart, and the close proximity of villages and towns, Christian or Moslem, is a feature of Lebanese life. In addition, about 6,000 Jews reside in Beirut and other cities; the majority are of Sephardic origin, and have been settled in the country for generations.

With the exception of the Armenians, most of whom fled from Turkish territory during the first quarter of the present century, and a few thousand each of Kurds and Assyrians, there are no linguistic minority groups. Most of the inhabitants speak Arabic or a minor dialectal variation. French and English are widely used, however, by the educated Lebanese. Small foreign communities of French, Polish, Greek, American, British and other nationalities also reside in Beirut and the coastal cities.

During the Arab-Israeli conflict in 1948, Lebanon received over 170,000 Arab refugees from Palestine. In a total of 108,390 on the roster of the United Nations Relief and Works Agency in 1951, about 34 per cent were housed in 15 camps located in different parts of the country, while the remainder lived in the various towns and villages.

A distinctive feature of the recent history of this region is the large-scale emigration of Lebanese to the Americas, Europe and Africa, which reached a peak in the years preceding World War I. The exact number of emigrants, most of whom sought to escape the impoverishing effects of continuing congestion on the land, is not known, but some authorities estimate that it exceeds that of the resident population. Many